1: Karsten--212 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
162 (1928-29)

"Neither among the Jibaros nor among the Canelos Indians have I known persons who have been obliged to remain unmarried their whole life. In regard to the women such a state of things is almost out of the question for the very reason that the Jibaros are polygynists and that there is, on the whole, a scarcity of women in their communities."

12: Rivet--338 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 162, 171

The savages who live in this immense territory present an absolute ethnic unity: their customs and habits are totally distinct from the customs and habits of their neighbors to the northeast, the Záparos, as well as from their neighbors to the south, in the Peruvian province of Loreto (1). Moreover, they speak a single language which differs from the languages spoken in the neighboring regions. (2) These two proved facts empower the ethnologist to unite them under the name of Jíbaros.

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1. Raimondi, op. cit.
2. I have a large vocabulary of the Jivaro language, which I will make the subject of a further linguistic study.

31: Danielsson--86 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 592, 162

"Each house-group is made up of various men and their wives and children. A usual combination is: the head of the family, some of his brothers and sons and some sons-in-law, each one with his wives and children. That the Jibaros practise polygamy seems to be easily explained by the fact that the continual wars and fights have greatly reduced the male population. The sex ratio for the adult population, for instance, for the groups studied is 69 men to 168 women. (See Table I)."

31; Danielsson--88
116, 162

TABLE I

TOTAL POPULATION IN THE THREE GEOGRAPHICAL GROUPS

Family number	Adults (Initiated) Men Married	Men Unmarried	Women Married	Women Unmarried	Children (Not initiated) Boys Unmarried	Girls Married	Girls Unmarried	Total male	Total female	Total number
					Patuca					
I	4	0	11	3	9	1	7	13	22	35
II	4	1	9	1	4	3	5	9	18	27
III	3	0	7	0	7	0	6	10	13	23
IV	5	0	18	2	6	2	9	11	31	42
V	3	0	8	0	5	1	3	8	12	20
VI	3	0	5	1	2	2	2	5	10	15
Total	22	1	58	7	33	9	32	55	107	162
					Yurupaza					
I	5	1	14	2	10	0	12	16	28	44
II	4	0	55	0	4	2	3	8	10	18
III	3	0	8	1	4	0	5	7	14	21
IV	3	0	77	0	5	1	7	8	15	23
V	5	1	12	2	12	2	10	18	26	44
Total	20	2	46	5	35	5	37	57	93	150
					Yaupi					
I	5	0	9	0	14	3	15	19	27	46
II	4	0	11	1	13	0	14	17	26	43
III	3	1	8	0	11	0	9	15	17	32
IV	3	0	4	0	6	1	7	9	12	21
V	4	0	11	1	6	1	8	10	21	31
VI	4	0	7	0	4	2	5	8	14	22
Total	23	1	50	2	54	7	58	78	117	195
Total	65	4	154	14	122	21	127	190	317	507

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

normally consider themselves mutually obligated to defend each other's households from enemies. 606

Men strongly prefer to have two or more wives. The subsistence productivity of the household closely correlates with the number of wives possessed by a man, because the women are responsible for more of the agricultural production. Thus, a satisfactory household production of food and the important manioc beer is dependent upon polygyny. 595 592

The most common number of wives for a man to have is two, one, or three, in that order. The emphasis on polygyny, in part, reflects the fact that the ratio of adult females to adult males is approximately 2:1, largely as a consequence of the attrition of the adult male population through killing. The demand for wives nevertheless exceeds the supply, as evidenced by the common practice of "reserving" a prepuberty girl as a future wife by giving gifts of featherwork and trade goods to her parents. Not infrequently, her future husband then takes her home with him to raise her in his house prior to the actual consummation of the marriage. The extreme nature of the demand for wives is illustrated by the fact that a man sometimes gets a pregnant woman and her husband to agree to "reserve" the unborn child for him if it should be female. Needless to say, these practices result in marriages in which the husband is often substantially older. 162 • 595 584 [582]

An unmarried girl of post-puberty age is normally courted and involved in the decision to become a wife. The suitor, after he informally ascertains her willingness, sends a close male kinsman of his own generation to act as a go-between to sound out the girl's father who, in turn, consults with the girl and her mother. If the go-between reports back to the suitor that there is no opposition, then the latter goes late 584 585

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

every few years. His power, in the form of these spirit servants, is gradually used up through curing, bewitching, or dispensing it. He expects, therefore, to have to replenish his supply by visiting his higher associate. The lower shaman may look forward to help from the higher man only if he has been faithful in the submission of goods.

Tribute between shamans flows from the south, since, of course, the most powerful shamans are in the north. The tribute follows the lines of the shaman hierarchies up into the Canelos tribe. These hierarchies do not converge upon a single Canelos shaman, however, because there are a number of banks of about equal power in the tribe. In other words, this is basically a system of plural and parallel hierarchies culminating in the same region, but not in the same individual.

The hierarchical situation is further complicated by the fact that a given shaman frequently obtains magical power from several higher associates. He does this so that his power cannot be completely taken away from him at the whim of a single higher shaman. This tendency seems to prevent the hierarchies from being used as chains of authority. Since a shaman is thus often directly subordinate to several others, considerable intertwining of hierarchical relationships occurs (see Figure 3).

Roughly speaking, about one out of every four adult men is a shaman, so that, in any given locality, the shamans constitute a significant proportion of the male population. A few women are shamans, but among the Jívaro this is basically a man's occupation. The shamans in any particular neighborhood are ordinarily linked together by secret partnerships. These partnerships are also hierarchical in nature, and often a single shaman is the formally recognized leader of all the shamans in a specific neighborhood. These secret

/text continues on p. 124/